1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plaster both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool 236
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the 221
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded. From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

600 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 All was different here. Not only was there no
292 silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West
[280] and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came
[531] from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying
[301] or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor.
[301] Their forearms and legs were encased in geo-
[531] metrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsaroucha*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these
[531] clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

[p.79-C]

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142] [291] ←

● [286] →

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

[291] [516]

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/42/

286 [432] /42/ The weaving loom: there are two kinds of looms among the Sarakatsani. The first is made by them, while the second is bought from peasant artisans (fig. 30 and 31).

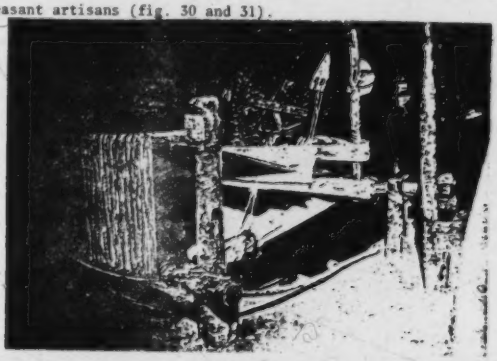

Fig. 30

The requirements of this study are such that it is the first type of loom which will be described here, especially since the second /type/ is not integrated in the traditional life of the Sarakatsani.

This loom is very simple. (7)

7. For a description of this loom we are using the terminology and outline given by A. Leroi-Gourhan in L'homme et matière, p. 239 f., while keeping the originality appropriate to our subject.

It is composed of six posts driven into the ground in two parallel rows and placed opposite each other as though delineating a rectangle. These posts are of unequal height. The tallest are in the center; those placed in front of the weaver, very short, measure approximately 20 centimeters, while the posts placed at the opposite extremity are almost 70 centimeters high; those in the center reach 1.50 meters.

/43/

286 /43/ Two cylindrical pieces 90 centimeters in length, rest horizontally on the pair of posts at the two ends. These each have a groove approximately 60 centimeters long into which the wrap is

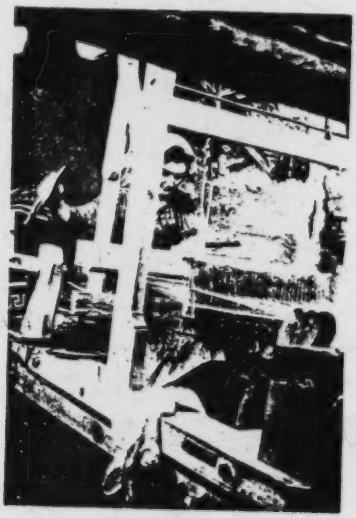

Fig. 31

first drawn and then rolled. These pieces which can turn or be locked by a very simple mechanism form the cylinder of the loom and the beam on which the woven fabric is wound.

However, here it is necessary to mention a novel detail: the posts intended for the beam bearing the warp sometimes show a /44/ second groove toward the lower part. It is in this groove that one then places another cylinder of wood (small tree trunk) called the upper beam, which serves to hold the threads of the warp.

286 /44 cont./

One of the two ends of each bean is pierced transversely. And it is by introducing of a stalk into this hole and attaching it by means of a cord that one obtains the simple mechanism for locking and turning mentioned above.

On the two high center posts another small tree trunk is set and from it are suspended the parts that serve to raise the threads alternately, and by means of which one weaves, that it to say, the two heddles on the one hand and the batten on the other.

The batten which holds the comb that presses together the threads of the weft at each passage through, is itself attached at the top to two sticks of wood called swords /?/.

The heddles (each framed along their entire length by two stalks of reed) are set in motion by ascending and descending movements and suspended by ropes, or rather by a harness, on pulleys. [432] They are made by the Sarakatsani themselves, whereas the batten is bought commercially.

The servicable breadth of the heddles, and consequently that of the batten and of the weave that can be produced, is approximately 60 cnetimeters.

The movement of the heddles is controlled by two pedals, two treadles parallel to the warp, the alternate action of which brings about the spreading apart of the threads of the warp, thus permitting the introduction of the shuttle, on the center quill of which is wound

Fig. 32

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[171]

8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andklui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

233 Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/49 cont./

283 the preparation of the loom.

386 The rest of the procedure "dyeing with aniline colors" is not of particular interest ethnographically, hence it will not be treated here.

386 The Sarakatsani also dye the fabrics intended for the making of garments. The technique that applies to it will be described in a separate paragraph.

The preparation of the loom.

286 When these various procedures are finished, the yarn is ready to be woven. However, before setting to work, the women must prepare the loom.

These preparations include:

--mounting the warp,

--installing it on the loom,

--finally, preparing the shuttles.

/50/ Mounting the warp is a task both complicated and delicate, which requires a series of micro-procedures.

The most important procedure is that which consist of warping the loom.

In order better to understand the detail of this procedure let us suppose that the warp is but a single thread.

Five pegs approximately 30 centimeters high are planted in the ground according to the arrangement indicated in the following diagram:

Fig. 37

/50 cont./

286 When the pegs have been set, the weaver starts to wind the yarn around them. She starts from point a of peg P 1. The yarn is wound around the other pegs as indicated by the arrows. It crosses between pegs P 4 and P 5, after which it is brought back to the point of departure where it is knotted at its initial extremity. The worker has thus obtained a closed circuit, through the crossing back of threads at one point.

The description of the operation pertaining to a single thread permits us to understand what actually happens.

Since a warp customarily has 500 to 600 threads, it is obviously impossible to wind them one by one. Thus, the weaver takes bunches of 25 to 30 at a time. This bunch of threads is called a "head." In order to put them on the loom she uses the idiastra, the instrument we have already described (fig. 27), which serves a double purpose: on the one hand, to facilitate threads. The latter are threaded into the holes of the idiastra and their ends are fastened to peg P 1.

Thus, a double circuit of threads is obtained which is made up of 12 components on each side.

/51/ The weaver holds the idiastra in her right hand by one of its handles and vertically in relation to the ground; she begins to draw the threads around peg P 2 which is on the right. There, she changes hands and, taking the idiastra in her left hand, she proceeds to P 3, passing around it so that the idiastra remains at the left. She changes hands again and, now holding the idiastra in her right hand, she arrives at peg no. 4 which she leaves to the right, winding around peg no. 5, carries the threads to peg no. 4 and hence goes to the left, and returning successively to pegs 3, 2 and 1. Thus, between pegs 4 and 5 the threads are crossed. The procedure recommences until the number of threads desired are placed in postion and crossed. The nappe /span?/ of the warp is approximately 60 centimeters wide and its length depends on the fabric one wishes to produce. In general, among the Sarakatsani, the nappe is long. (11)

A, [See p.49--Analyst]

/51 cont./

286

11. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 293.

Let us now pass to the phase in the preparation of the loom which consists in transferring the warp onto the loom and involves another series of micro-procedures.

[291]

Fig. 38

The warp threads are first tied together at three points with a string. These points are set by pegs P 1, P 4 and P 5 (the branches of the crossing).

Then the warp threads are lifted from the pegs, plaited almost like hair, so that they can be put aside until the time when they are used (fig. 38).

Next, on the two posts that are 80 centimeters high and set in the ground at approximately one meter intervals one puts the beam--the one which is placed at the end of the loom opposite the weaver. /52/ It is on this beam that the plait of warp threads will be wound.

286 /52 cont./

To this end one inserts the top of the outside loop of the crossed threads into the slit in the beam (see description of the loom pp. 51-54) and wedges it into this slit with a stick.

In order to preserve the crossing one then introduces, on either side, two sticks (two reeds) three centimeters in diameter and two meters in length. Then one undoes the plait as well as the fastening and starts to turn the beam on the posts while keeping the warp very taut. Thus the warp is wound, while the crossing of the threads, preserved by the sticks, (12)

12. The same sticks whech are also used on the loom serve as spreading rods. A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 294.

moves forward little by little to the opposite end.

This process is followed by what is called beloniasma which is equivalent to rentrage /?/. What is involved here is the insertion of the warp threads into the heddles placed on the other side of the two sticks and consequently beyond the point where they are crossed. The threads of the warp are inserted, one by one, alternately into the noose of each heddle, after which they pass across the teeth of the beater and end at the beam where they are firmly secured.

When the warp is mounted on the loom, the latter is ready for action.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention further details, for the process of rentrage varies according to the fabric one wishes to produce.

For a simple fabric which is made with two heddles, one passes the threads two by two across the teeth of the beater.

For the kaltsoskoutti fabric, a name which may be translated "knit weave" one passes the threads three by three.

/52 cont./

286 There remains the preparation of the bobbins for the shuttle.

283 286 We have already said that the yarn, whether dyed or not, is wound into balls. For it to be transferred to the quill of the shuttle, it must be given the shape of a spindle. The women therefore wind the yarn on the distaff and remove it as soon as it is loaded, so that the yarn wound around itself forms a cylinder, and the quill is placed into its cavity.

286 And this final micro-process completes /53/ the preparations for weaving, which we shall now describe in detail.

Weaving. - procedures and products.

In general, weaving presupposes the passing of the shuttle through the "shed" of the warp, the successive working of each of the treadles

/53 cont./

286 moving the two heddles, and one or more thrusts of the beater; these steps are necessary whether the fabric is intended for garments, blankets or rugs.

Using this classic method, the Sarakatsani produce various kinds of fabrics:

A simple fabric in wool or in cotton and wool.

The kaltsoskoutti fabric meant chiefly for the making of women's skirts and men's leggings.

The velentza blanket, made with thick sheep wool yarn that has been twisted by the "drougha" method.

The toslia rugs woven half in sheep wool, half in goat wool.

The coarse goat wool fabric used to make shepherd capes.

Peculiarities are to be noted in connection with the weaving of twill of the flokotti and karamelotti blankets and of rugs called thiliasto or fouskotto. These peculiarities reside sometimes in a variation of the number of heddles and consequently the number of treadles, at other times in the method of weaving.

Let us examine first the twill weave, the very closely woven serge (woven in a diagonal). To obtain it, one places on the loom four heddles to which correspond four treadles.

In order to facilitate the description of the following process, let us number the treadles from left to right. We thus have treadles number 1, 2, 3, and 4. The weaver works treadle no. 1, opens the shed, passes the shuttle through and strikes the beater. Without raising her foot, she works treadle no. 4 and continues as before. Then she shifts her feet and steps on treadle no. 2, then treadle no. 3 without releasing no. 2, passing the shuttle and striking the beater successively after each movement of the treadles.

The flokotti blanket imitates, so to speak, the hide of /54/ the sheep. One should picture a thick wool shag, the hairy side of which looks like fur (fig. 39).

/54 cont./

286 In order to produce this shag the weaver first passes the shuttle from two to seven times through the shed while of course, successively working the treadles. Then she slips through the "shed" a weft which makes a peculiar ball. Once the weft is inserted from

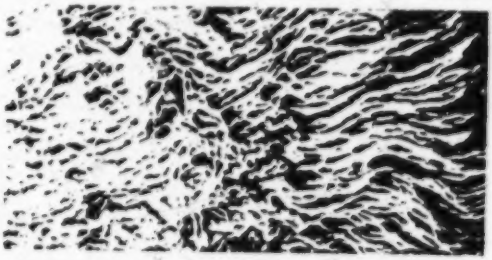

Fig. 30

one end of the warp to the other, she pulls it out by inserting the fingers of the left hand between each couple of threads of the warp, to a height of five centimeters. Thereupon she gives two or three strikes of the beater. The loops of thread thus formed, very compact, remain unaltered.

The procedure is repeated until the flokotti weave is finished.

As soon as this blanket is completely woven, the loops are cut at a certain point with scissors.

The rug called thiliasto or fouskotto is in fact only a variation of this kind of blanket. Here the procedure is the same, except for one detail. Inasmuch as the diameter of the small loops forming the shag is reduced to one centimeter, a rod which formerly served to load guns is pushed into these loops, in order to keep them in place before they are pressed together by the striking of the beater. And the distinguishing feature lies in the fact that one does not cut these loops which remain as they are.

/54 cont./

296 Finally, there are /55/ the karamelotti blankets, which have
531 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles,
and consequently with the same number of treadles; moreover, several
shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).
[191]

13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in L'homme et la matière, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

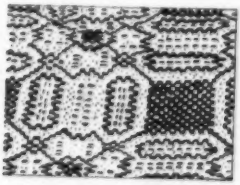

Fig. 40

296 Fulling.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a mandani.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

S
286 /55 cont./
and the water /56/ falls on the fabrics (fig. 41 and 42). This procedure takes two or three days.

S
286 The mandani is a wooden machine which consists of a large
S cylinder and big hammers, also made of wood. When the cylinder turns,
286 the hammers beat regularly each in turn. The operation of the unit is
408
[32]

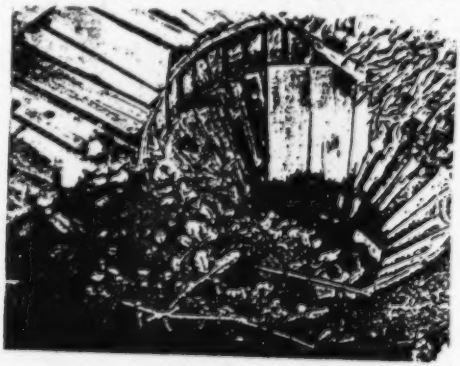

Fig. 41

based on hydraulic power. The fabric slowly unrolls on the cylinder and the hammers beat it ceaselessly. A stream of water continually floods the cylinder containing the fabric, so that the latter is simultaneously exposed to the action of the water and the hammers. It is chiefly twill which is given this treatment.

The construction of this equipment is the work of peasants who also keep it in operation. It is therefore to the peasants that the Sarakatsani turn for the fulling of the fabrics and covers they make.

S
286 /57/ The dyeing of fabrics
386 In order to complete the description of the techniques relevant

/57 cont./

286 386 to woo crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 13

286 386 (824) reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen] gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought (804) (829) commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(198) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.